

THE MILITANT

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Friday, December 27, 1968

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Scene at Young Socialist convention. See reports pages 5-12.

Students in Mexico are hit by a new wave of arrests

—See story page 16



Liberation News Service photo

Cops club San Francisco State College student. Student-faculty pressure then forced campus shutdown. See story page 16 and special report by Fred Halstead page 3.



KY AND PLAYMATE. Said Senator George McGovern of S. Dakota: "While Ky is playing around in the plush spots of Paris and haggling over whether he is going to sit at a round table or a rectangular table, American men are dying to prop up his corrupt regime back home."



VICTORY! Reies Lopez Tijerina, New Mexico rights fighter acquitted in "raid." See page 16.

THE MILITANT

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How you can help put a stop to the Vietnam blood-letting

The need for continuing to build the antiwar movement and, above all, building support for the increasing number of GIs who are opposed to the war, was underlined by an Associated Press report Dec. 12 that the number of American soldiers killed in Vietnam has crossed the 30,000 mark.

Casualties continue to pile up on the Vietnam battlefields while Washington and Saigon drag out the negotiations in Paris.

Johnson made his "negotiation" offer to Hanoi last April 1. In the eight months from then until Dec. 1, 6,365 GIs have died in combat! Another 44,483 have been wounded. As of Dec. 1, that brought the total number of American casualties in the war since Jan. 1, 1961, to 218,024. This does not include the number of GIs killed and wounded from "noncombat" causes.

A significant step in the fight against the war is the National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference slated for Chicago Dec. 28, to be followed by a conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam on Sunday, Dec. 29.

The GI-Civilian parley will bring together members of the armed services from bases throughout the country and a number of veteran and civilian groups supporting their struggle. The Chicago Peace Action Council will be host to the GI-Civilian Conference, which is sponsored by many GI "underground" papers, GI coffee-houses, antiwar and civil-liberties groups, as well as prominent antiwar figures from many cities.

The conference will focus on plans for a major national demonstration against the war this spring, designed to involve and reach large numbers of servicemen as well as civilians.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: **Atascadero:** YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** YSA, 187 14th St. **ILINOIS:** **Carbondale:** YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: **Bloomington:** YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: **Baltimore:** YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: **Boston:** Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: **Ann Arbor:** Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: **Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: **St. Louis:** Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: **Newark:** YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: **Albany:** YSA, Carol French 194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: **Cleveland:** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: **Portland:** c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S.W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: **Philadelphia:** SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6 998.

TEXAS: **Austin:** YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2 236.

UTAH: **Salt Lake City:** Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-35 37.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: **Seattle:** SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: **Madison:** YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

Cambridge, Md., struggle goes on

From a black militant

Cambridge, Md.

This is my story and the story of present conditions in Cambridge.

I was in the movement in 1962 when the NAACP organized a 500-member group here. I was involved in the massive demonstration that took place in 1963, when Gloria Richardson was leading the fight. I was then injured in a very serious accident, and I'm crippled from it now, I came out of the hospital and continued later on that winter because the National Guard was here the entire winter.

Gloria left Cambridge, and '65 and '66 were relatively quiet, but segregation still existed. So Gloria called a meeting in Cambridge to get us back together. SNCC and NAACP members, and my group, the Upward Bound Youth group, combined to form the Cambridge Black Action Federation. We invited Rap [H. Rap Brown, former chairman of SNCC] to town, and he spoke one July night. Two hours later there was a fire, and they charged Rap and myself with inciting to riot and other white people's charges. There were other people charged too.

Now I am ex-secretary of the Afro-American Aggeros of Cambridge, and we are hated by the whites in Cambridge because we tell the truth. I've been blackballed on jobs and have three kids, but I manage to make it somehow. We have no funds, but we have a few black businessmen.

I am presently on \$10,000 bail (it was \$25,000 at first). My trial is supposed to be coming up after Rap's case. It's been postponed again, so that means I'll have to stay somewhere close. I don't have any income, but you can bet like hell I'm going to keep fighting.

If you can get some funds for us, please do.

They try to arrest me for anything. I will fight until we survive, until the white bastards have me arrested.

We really have it hard. I will write more about the horrible situation that exists in this sick city.

*Lemuel D. Chester
612 Muir St.
Cambridge, Md.*

Palestine Arabs

united in struggle

Chicago, Ill.

Nowadays one must be thankful for the smallest signs of rationality in Israeli ruling circles. Your paper has actually achieved the distinction of forcing a left-Zionist to eat humble pie by admitting in print (*The Militant*, Dec. 13, letter from Yehuda Krantz) that Israel is "capitalist," that "many of its policies are to be condemned," and that Dayan is a "neofascist."

Permit me to invite Mr. Krantz to help himself to an even larger slice of that pie by focusing on the genocidal policies practiced by Israel against the Palestine Arabs, the land's rightful owners. In his letter, Mr. Krantz carefully avoided any mention of the Palestine Liberation Movement, a movement which your paper was the first in this country to espouse and to analyze in depth. The best that Mr. Krantz and other Israeli "socialists" can manage is a string of platitudes about the desirability of peace in the region.

The Arab people of Palestine are now united as never before to put an end to a colonialist state which has dispossessed them twice in 20 years of home and property, denies them the right to live freely in their own country, discriminates even against Jews of an oriental background, and invites

Jews, preferably Western, to immigrate to Israel, but bars the doors to Palestine Arabs who had lived in Palestine for two millenia.

By concentrating on the Palestinians, your paper has perceptively exposed the core of the problem in the Middle East. A national movement of liberation is pitted against a western colonialist outpost. The eventual outcome cannot be in doubt.

A. S.

Can't believe Israel Napalmed villages

Philadelphia, Pa.

Last Nov. 15, there were two articles in *The Militant* on the Arab-Israeli conflict, one from a socialist, the other from an Arab nationalist. Alfred Gordon disputed "the myth of a progressive Israel." However, in my letter of Nov. 8, I only spoke of a "people," not a state, as being progressive.

The Arab nationalist student leader [Tarif Khalidi] called for the destruction of the "Zionist" state. However, this is not a call for the overthrow of capitalism, but for the destruction of the Hebrew nation.

Briefly to counter points made by those two:

● Andrei Gromyko, speaking for the USSR, stressed the justice of a Jewish state at the UN in 1947. Socialist Czechoslovakia supplied arms for Israel's independence war in 1948. President Truman refused arms. The British opposed the planned state in the UN and with officers at the head of Arab troops in 1948.

● Close to two million Jews fought in various armies to prevent a world take-over by German imperialism. Nevertheless, Arab nationalism has this negative aspect — it gave refuge to Nazi war criminals, who play a significant divide-and-weaken role among the Jews and Arabs of the region.

● Palestine is the homeland of two peoples, Arabs and Hebrew (Israeli Jew). Arab terrorism is a crime against a people's right to exist.

● Arab extremist propaganda lies about Israeli methods of warfare. Napalmed against Arab tanks — believable; against Arab villages — unbelievable. Why doesn't *The Militant* request comment on these charges from the Israeli Communist Party, which supported Israel's side, as a war for survival forced by the enemy's boasted genocide plan?

● The Tunisian ambassador to an Arab League conference a few months ago charged Nasser had provoked the 1967 war.

● The CIA has financed Arab terrorism, anti-Israel propaganda, and most likely has done the same anti-Arab incitation among Jews. The U.S. has supplied many more arms and training for the Arab nationalist extremists.

Honest Arab nationalism must

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

be proletarian, must uphold the rights of *both* peoples, must condemn the reactionaries of *both* peoples.

Hana Niel

Exciting year, exciting paper

London, England

This has been an exciting year for revolutionaries, and *The Militant* in its content and form has reflected that excitement. The paper's new format puts it into a class of its own. Undoubtedly the finest socialist paper in the English language.

I am active in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, and have found *The Militant's* coverage of the U.S. antiwar movement very helpful in building the movement here.

I also like "Black Liberation Notes" and "The Great Society." Keep it up!

*Venceremos
B. P.*

Meaning of DRUM

New Haven, Conn.

Your excellent article on the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in the Dec. 6 *Militant* provided new evidence that the American working class can be mobilized into anti-union-bureaucracy actions and perhaps into even greater movements for fundamental social change.

Despite actions of movements like DRUM, however, the great mass of Americans accept and support the capitalist system. It is for this reason that *both* the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance must work in the factories of this nation and bring revolutionary programs to workers in the plant and in the union.

A more aggressive labor policy must be a priority of the Marxist - Leninist - Trotskyist American movement.

A "student-worker alliance" must be built!

Richard L. Adams

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory

by Ernest Mandel

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A day at S.F. State campus

By Fred Halstead

The following account of a day on the San Francisco State College campus is based on a visit made there Dec. 11. On Dec. 13 the college administration announced the school would shut down "for the Christmas holiday" a week ahead of schedule. Fred Halstead was the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 11—I spent today on the campus of San Francisco State College, which has been involved in a student strike since Nov. 6. Like a large percentage of the students, I sat in no classes, listened to no lectures, read no textbooks. But it was an education. The first thing I saw on approaching the campus in the morning was about two dozen cops in blue helmets with plastic face masks milling about the Ecumenical House, a nonsectarian church center catering to students, which is about half a block from the campus proper. The cops dragged off a student who was just standing there. He was one of the 10 strike leaders arrested during the day on warrants signed by S.I. Hayakawa, acting president of the college.

The next thing I saw was a small group of students trying to set up a peaceful picket line on the sidewalk outside the college. The cops moved in fast and broke it up, no questions asked. I walked onto the commons, a broad, sloping, grassy area in the center of the campus. Several hundred students milled around. On the roofs of surrounding buildings stood policemen and college administration officials with binoculars, scanning the crowd and talking into radios. Later, when the students started demonstrating, they would single out certain leaders to policemen on the ground who would rush into the crowd to make arrests.

But at the moment there was no demonstration. I entered the cafeteria which faces the commons. It was packed with at least a thousand students, though it was class time and much too early for lunch. They sat and stood around, most of them discussing the events of the previous week when massive police forces moved on the

campus in an attempt to break the strike. Some were reading leaflets. One of these, distributed by a group of white students on the strike committee seemed to sum up a wide-spread feeling. It read in part:

"Last week the blue people gave us white people some pretty black experiences. The Tac Squad [tactical police] was sent on a racist errand—to smash the strike organization—but they went about it in an unprejudiced way. They brutalized people regardless of race, creed, color, religion, age, sex or national origin. The only color they saw on the green was 'red' . . . What we have learned is that we haven't learned anything in class about this thing coming down on us. The education we have been getting has not prepared us for this. Our education has been irrelevant to these real experiences. Is this the USA we read about in our textbooks?

"The professors who try to pretend that education has been going on or is going on are on a dangerous ego trip. . . . They confuse the forms of education (docile students sitting on their behinds) with the content (learning to stand up as human beings). If they think we're going to play 'good Germans' while the Gestapo rules the hallways they haven't understood what our generation is about."

I decided to take a look inside some classroom buildings. At the door to a glassy edifice marked "Humanities" I edged around half a dozen police in blue standing in line at the door. These particular specimens carried clubs such as I'd never seen before. They were over three feet long, slightly curved like a samurai sword, and made of some hard, black wood. The cops held them with both hands, one on each end. I remembered having read a statement in this morning's *Chronicle* by Captain Mortimer McNerney—commander of the 600 police on this strike-breaking mission—about instructions he had given to his men. "Raising a baton over the head is unjustifiable," the paper quoted soft-cop McNerney as saying, "It means you are going to hit someone over the head. The best place to strike a person is on the legs and arms." I couldn't help but wince as I looked at those samurai batons and imagined one of them cracking into my shins.

Inside the building, the halls were patrolled by more cops—with shorter clubs, but big guns on their hips. There were very few classes going on in this particular building. I wandered through some of the others. It was impossible to tell with any exactness just how many of the 18,000 students enrolled were actually attending classes, but it was clear that a large number were not, and that in this atmosphere whatever classes were being held were certainly not normal. The most crowded places on campus were the cafeteria and the library.

Outside on the commons again crowds were beginning to build up. There was much anxiety among the strikers. This was to be a crucial day, a kind of testing of where things stood. Last week had seen bloody confrontation, with more than a hundred arrested and over 50 injured. Yesterday, Monday, it had poured rain, and there was no picket line and the noon rally attended by less than a thousand, had to be held inside in the cafeteria. But that wasn't really a fair test because of the rain. Today was sunny for the time being. Hayakawa had banned all assemblies, but they had been held anyway so far, with police harassment. But the rumor was anyone with sound equipment would

be arrested on the spot today, and the picket line had already been stopped.

But the strike situation at SF State proceeds on many levels, with the Black Students Union having the initiative and spearheading a struggle which more and more involves fundamental questions for others besides the black students—even including the faculty.

I saw this unfold before my eyes as about 50 faculty members carrying signs appeared and set up a picket line in front of the administration building across the common from the cafeteria. They were members of the American Federation of Teachers' local which is seeking union recognition at this campus. The signs said "AFT Local 1352—Close Campus for Negotiations"; "AFT—Trustees Must Negotiate Now"; "No Police State"; and "Close this Bloody Campus." This is the first time the teachers have picketed, and the word spread rapidly among the students. More faculty members joined the picket line, and a student picket line was set up nearby.

People were feeling better: "Good, the AFT is finally out." "Are they striking?" "Not exactly. It's an informational picket line. They're still waiting for strike authorization from the central labor council." "That's bullshit. They'll never get it." "Yeah, maybe not. But if they do, the Teamsters won't cross the picket line and the whole place will dry up." "The national AFT has authorized their strike, why are they waiting?" "It's a beginning. The local has voted to strike by Monday, authorization from the council or not."

I spoke to a teacher who explained the AFT members' position. The AFT local here has not been recognized by the trustees, who had refused to negotiate with the union even on straight collective bargaining demands. So the AFT local is actually involved on two issues: union recognition and the issues raised by the student strike itself.

The student strike was started by the Black Students Union after two years of arduous struggle and negotiations over the issue of a black studies department which would be controlled and operated by black students and black educators. The BSU had run up against a brick wall of resistance, and the strike began after a black instructor, George Murray, was removed from his classroom teaching position. Murray is a member of the Black Panther Party and was removed on orders of the trustees, allegedly for making a public statement that black students should arm themselves.

The firing of Murray symbolized the fact that the trustees had no intention of recognizing any real black control and were going to dictate what teachers could teach and even what political ideas teachers would be permitted to express. It also began to drive home to many white faculty members that the trustees were not going to allow them academic freedom. The appearance of the police on campus drove the point even deeper. And now the AFT local is demanding a shutdown of the campus while negotiations proceed on the question of faculty rights over teaching.

On the AFT picket line one of the faculty spokesmen, Eric Solomon, was making a statement: "As faculty we can do many things on our knees. We can pick up erasers, we can tie our shoelaces, we can search for lost papers. But one thing a faculty member cannot do. He cannot teach on his knees."



THIS IS YOUR PRESIDENT SPEAKING! YOUR ORDERS FOR THE DAY ARE AS FOLLOWS. GO TO YOUR CLASSES, SPEAK ONLY WHEN SPOKEN TO, KEEP OFF THE GRASS, NO LOITERING IN THE RESTROOMS. THERE ARE POLICE STATIONED AT EVERY DOOR TO CHECK YOUR ID BEFORE YOU PASS INTO OR OUT OF A ROOM, REMEMBER, THIS IS FOR YOUR PROTECTION. ANYONE CAUGHT TALKING IN THE LIBRARY WILL BE SHOT. THAT IS ALL...

San Francisco State Strike Daily

The students cheered and raised their fists in a clenched fist salute chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

A large squad of police was approaching the picket area now. They moved through the student picket line breaking it up. Then they approached the AFT line, but the teachers did not move. It was understood almost instinctively that the arrest of a large group of faculty union members on a peaceful picket line would present a very serious problem in terms of the relations between the AFL-CIO central labor council and the city's political structure.

Professor William Stanton acted as picket spokesman with the police. He demanded the name of the officer in charge and spoke it loud and clear into the TV cameras focused on the action. "If you are going to arrest us we will sue, but we want no violence from the police. We will go peacefully under arrest. Now are you going to allow us to continue our peaceful picketing, or are you going to arrest us?" The officer hesitated a moment and then said, "You can picket."

A cheer went up as the teachers continued picketing. Shortly, the students reformed a picket line, staying close to the teachers, and both lines swelled considerably.

It was getting close to noon now, and crowds were beginning to form in front of the cafeteria near the speakers' stand, where loudspeakers are usually set up for noon meetings.

A group of drama students were relieving the tense atmosphere in one of the crowds with a musical-comedy skit to the tune of "There's No Business Like Show Business." But the words were: "There's no Squad Like the Tac Squad." It was well done.

Now and then a group of cops would make a foray into the center of the commons to seize or chase a particular student who had been pointed out as having a warrant out for him. In one of these incidents the cops drove into a crowd of students to grab their prey and some scuffling ensued to shouts of "Pigs off campus!"

Members of the strikers' medical committee, wearing white helmets with red crosses on them, ran for the point of the scuffle, and came away with a girl on a stretcher, her head and shirt spotted with blood. A boy ran along side the stretcher, distraught and shouting: "Guns, guns, that's what we'll have to use."

The drama group finished their skit just in time to scatter with the crowd as a large phalanx of cops moved in front of the speakers' stand. It was clear they weren't going to allow a rally there. The crowd moved toward the teachers' picket line, sensing a point of safety, and in that area, a spokesman for the Black Students Union stood on the library steps and called the crowd around. The speakers had to talk without sound. One of them fashioned a makeshift megaphone by rolling up a picket sign. About a thousand students stood in the rally, with another thousand looking on—outside the ring of cops beginning to form around the rally.

The cops moved in and pushed the speakers away. They retreated to the center of the teachers' picket line, which now stopped circling and became sort of the center of the rally. The speakers had to be hoisted on shoulders to be above the crowd.

A BSU member speaks, pointing to the rooftops where the police spotters stand. "I don't intend to live under a police state. We started fighting for some control over

(Continued on page 4)

Intercontinental Press

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New offer ends strike at Con Edison in N.Y.

On Dec. 13, 20,000 striking members of New York's Utility Workers Union Local 1-2 voted 3 to 1 to accept the revised terms of a contract they had turned down on Nov. 24. Local 3 of the IBEW, whose 500 members on Staten Island were also on strike, accepted the new contract on Dec. 10.

The workers had overwhelmingly turned down the first contract in dissatisfaction over vacations, pensions and overtime pay for Sunday work. All three items were improved to come closer to the workers' demands.

One of the most ominous phases of the response to this strike has been a vicious campaign, spearheaded by Con Edison and the *New York Times* to force a settlement through fear of restrictive state legislation—a state Taft-Hartley Act, which would give the governor injunction power to call for an 80-day "cooling off" period, impose compulsory arbitration, and eliminate workers' rights to reject (or ratify) any agreement arrived at "in good faith" by company and union heads.

Utility workers are not covered by the infamous Taylor Act (aimed at government employees). The threatened legislation would cover people who work for corporations whose rates are set by federal or state laws.

On Dec. 6, while the strike was still on, Charles F. Luce, Con Edison board chairman, addressed the New York Chamber of Commerce. In his speech he proposed that the next legislature give the governor power by injunction to force "cooling off" periods in any threatened strike involving "public welfare or safety."

The *Times* went even further in an editorial on Dec. 10. It said: "The contract proposal that will be put to vote of the company's 20,000 unionized workers undoubtedly deserves ratification, but so did the one the workers turned down the first time . . .

"If the contract is rejected the second time—in defiance of every dictate of sound judgment—it will underline the need for congressional action to prevent agreements negotiated in good faith by employers and unions, from being arbitrarily rejected by union rank and file . . .

"Collective bargaining becomes meaningless when employers cannot be sure that elected representatives of their employees have genuine authority to act in their behalf . . .

"If agreements these representatives conclude do not satisfy the members their recourse is to pick new officers at the next union election . . .

"The alternative is movement toward some form of compulsory arbitration . . ."

The National Picketline

Thus once again can be seen the ruling class aim of further regimentation of the working class. As far as they're concerned, there is "too much democracy" in the trade-union movement!

In this they are not too far away from the feelings of the well-fed, top union bureaucrats. To ensure their near-life-time sinecures, these fat cats have frequently used the procedure of amending union constitutions—once they are safely in office—to prevent militant rank and filers from running for office.

The National Maritime Union constitution has a clause making it a condition of candidacy that the nominee has previously served a term as a national officer! The hotel employees' union has a similar condition. Both these unions are now under court order to void their last elections and hold new ones early in 1969.

The United Steel Workers makes it a condition that a would-be candidate get the endorsement of 18 local unions.

These are but a few examples of the tight security with which union bureaucrats hedge their top positions.

The *Times* wants such bureaucrats to have absolute power in the signing of union contracts.

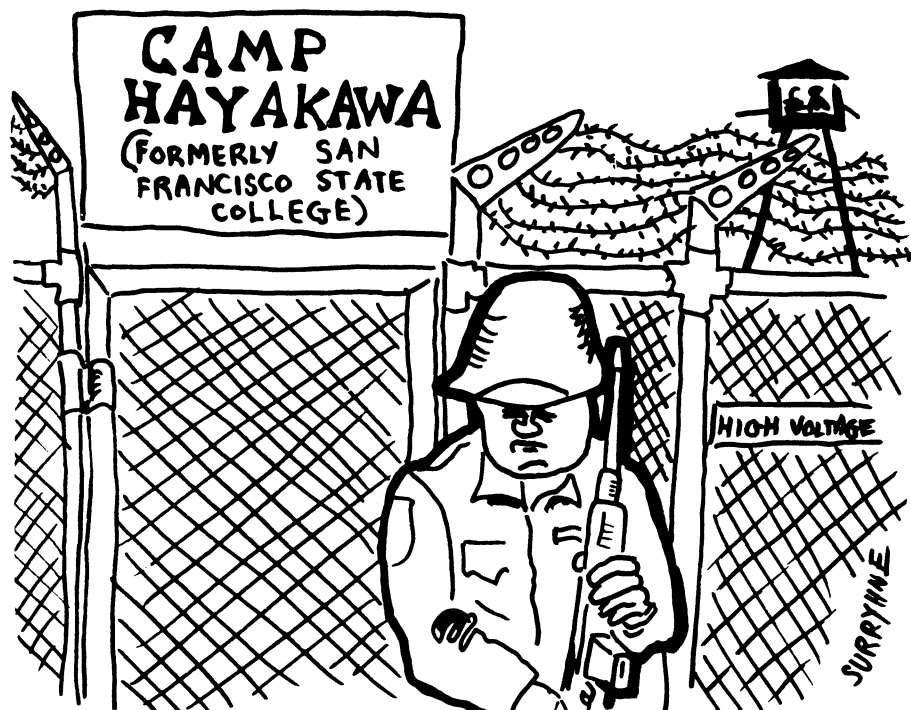
Their proposed legislation would take away the right of the rank and file to pass on proposed contracts. That is one of the few democratic rights most union members still retain. (The Steel Workers are a glaring exception.) And the developing militancy within the ranks of the union movement does not augur well for any politician in any state who sponsors such legislation.

Back in the 1930s, when the CIO was coming into being, considerable democracy prevailed in most of the new unions. Union negotiators were frequently denied power to sign anything. They had the right to bargain for everything they could get but had to submit every proposal to the rank and file. Honest young leaders wanted it that way. And so did the membership.

If any government, state or federal, tries to take away that last bit of democracy and impose compulsory arbitration, a significant rank-and-file union opposition can be counted on—the well-larded bureaucrats notwithstanding.

—Marvel Scholl

... Day at S.F. State campus



San Francisco State Strike Daily

(Continued from page 3)

our own lives, and they bare their fangs. Big brother is watching you, the clubs are ready. But no! We will resist. The strike goes on." Another BSU member is hoisted up: "We are not an isolated incident. We are a microcosm of this sick society." Cries of "Right on!" from the crowd.

Dr. Nathan Hare, the black professor who is formally in charge of the black studies program, is lifted on shoulders to speak: "I'm a man of few words," he begins, and lives up to it. "We'll keep it up until we get some democracy into this racist, militaristic institution." And he gets down.

Another BSU member: "The struggle here is for power. Without power we can't change things. A black studies department under control of the same people who have perpetuated the old system is unacceptable. That's not negotiable. We must win the power to administer it ourselves, we, the black students and black faculty, in the interests of the black community. Not them."

Them—the trustees and those they represent, and those they control—the blue people.

The board of trustees of the California State Colleges is composed of 16 appointed members who serve eight-year terms and are appointed by the governor, and five ex-officio members who are the top capitalist politicians in the state: the governor, lieutenant governor, state superintendent of public instruction, speaker of the assembly, and the chancellor of the state-college system.

Of the 16 appointed members, nine are big business directors, five are members of law firms, only one is a woman—the wife of a judge—and one is a union official who now heads a social-work project.

Of the 16 only two list any teaching experience—the union official, who was once a high-school teacher, and one of the lawyers, who used to be on the faculty of the University of Santa Clara as assistant football coach.

This is the body that rules 18 state-college campuses with over 160,000 enrolled students which boast of constituting the largest single educational system in the Western world.

It was this capitalist control which the Black Students Union ran up against in seeking a real black studies department and which it challenged when it started the strike six weeks ago. The BSU made 10 strike demands including that the black studies department's chairman, faculty, and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control the destiny of the department, and that the trustees not be allowed to dissolve any black programs on or off San Francisco State College campus.

At first the strike was small (less than five percent of the student body is black), but it soon drew support from white radicals and from the Third World Liberation Front. The TWLF is a united front of campus ethnic organizations representing students of non-European ancestry. In the San Francisco area there are large numbers of persons whose ancestry is Mexican, other Latin American, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino.

The TWLF added five demands of its own, making 15 in all. One of the TWLF demands is that the college admit all Third World students who apply next year. I asked a Mexican American student why.

He said that Third World students, including the blacks, make up about half the high-school graduates in San Francisco public schools but together account for only 10 percent of the SF State student body.

Support of the Mexican, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino students to the strike has been a big boost. The movement grew when strikers went into classrooms to explain the facts and started many lively discussions. The strike began to spread among previously "nonpolitical" white students, and the administration screamed "disruption." The appearance of police on the campus in mid-November in a raid on the BSU office resulted in a struggle between students and cops, and sympathy for the strike spread further, particularly in the black community at large.

Faced with this unexpected growth in the power of the strike, the college administration—then headed by President Robert Smith—tried to co-opt the movement by calling several "convocations" of the student body and administration to "talk it out." These convocations began to touch on the untouchable when students challenged the very idea of control of the educational system by the corporate interests represented by the trustees.

As a strike-committee leaflet put it: "We get their books, their curriculum, their educational environment shoved down our throats. What we learn in class is how to adopt *their* viewpoint, how to solve *their* problems, how to run *their* errands, how to create ourselves in *their* image . . . We want an education that teaches us the true history and the real situation of our communities so that we can go back to serve them and, if need be, to lead our people in revolution. We are the majority of the poor, the majority of the plastic and alienated, the majority of the Americans wasted in Vietnam. We want an education that is controlled by the educators and the educated, not by puppets, trustees, governors, racist legislators, imperial corporations and all other manner of pigs in people suits. As it stands now, the taxpayers who pay for universities and colleges do not receive from them a dividend of progress, enlightenment or service. We want to control the educational process so that the people who pay for education *start* getting their money's worth."

After the last "convocation" Nov. 27, Gov. Reagan announced that there had been "enough talk" and that the college would be kept open by police force. President Smith resigned and the trustees appointed Hayakawa to do the dirty work. There followed a week of bloody confrontation between the force of 600 police—many of them drawn from other cities—and the strikers. According to the students' defense committee, so far 135 students have been arrested—65 on trumped-up felony charges. Fifty-seven have been injured.

But it was clear from the events that I watched today that the show of police violence was not having the effect the trustees had planned. The strike was still gaining momentum.

As I was walking off the campus some cops were slowly advancing on a small crowd of students, breaking them up. A white girl faced them, walking backwards and shouting: "It's our campus! It's our campus! It's our campus!"





The YSA meets in Chicago, 1968

By Dick Roberts

The central point of the "Political Report" at the YS Convention, presented by incoming YSA national organizational secretary Larry Seigle, was that the radicalization in this country could be expected to deepen in the coming year. Young socialist activities, on the campuses, in the high schools, and with antiwar GIs, should be based on this perspective.

Seigle contrasted this viewpoint to that of many radicals who feel that the 1968 elections marked a shift to the right in the nation and who fear that there will be increased repression under the Nixon regime.

"What happened in the elections," Seigle stated, "was not that the American people shifted to the right, but that capitalist politics and the bourgeois candidates shifted to the right—the inevitable result of the rightward pressure of the imperialist war in Vietnam on domestic capitalist politics."

He continued, "There is no evidence of a rightward shift among the American people. Just the opposite. Antiwar sentiment deepens, black nationalism is on the rise. While the union movement has not yet reached the point of radicalization, workers have not passively accepted capitalist wage 'restraint' policies."

"Increased pressure from the ranks has been applied to contract negotiations; militant strikes, especially among public employees are on the increase. Militant black union caucuses have been organized, and sporadic oppositional movements against the ruling labor bureaucracies have appeared."

In the context of deepening radicalization among students, Afro-Americans in and out of the labor movement, and some sectors of the white working class, repressions can be expected, Seigle said. He added: "The ruling class always rules through a combination of concession and repression."

"But that is not the question," he continued, "The question we are concerned with is what effect it will have . . . Can Nixon crush the antiwar movement? Can he silence the high-school students and GIs? Can he turn back the radicalization among black people?"

"It won't take long for Nixon to be as widely and profoundly despised by the American people as LBJ." Furthermore, he added, radicalization is deepening and reaching new important sectors of the population—particularly high-school students and antiwar GIs.

The accomplishments of the 1968 Socialist Workers electoral campaign, Seigle emphasized, are a reflection of this: "Our campaign in support of Halstead and Boutelle was aimed at three things:

"1) to recruit people to the ideas of revolutionary socialism and to win them to support the campaign and join the YSA;

"2) to educate and to organize around the two main issues of the campaign, the war in Vietnam and the fight for black control of the black community;

"3) to provide a concrete example, in practice, of a class-struggle approach to those forces ready to break with capitalist politics, to propagandize for the need for an independent black party and an independent labor party."

Seigle briefly listed some of the results of this work, including the attendance of over 700 young socialists at the Chicago convention itself.

The tasks of the YSA in the coming year flow directly from the base established through the campaign. "That means a continued high level of activity, and confidence and audacity in recruiting young

people, in putting forward the YSA as the socialist youth organization, and not hesitating to take leadership and initiative in the broader movements in which we function."

The most important fronts, Seigle stressed, were with the thousands of GIs who are turning against the war and in the high schools.

"These two arenas represent the very thing that the ruling class fears—the extension of the antiwar movement, and the radicalization that goes with it, beyond the college student population."

In the high schools particularly, black youth are being organized and set into motion in massive and militant actions around the right of the black community

to control black schools.

Seigle emphasized the upsurge of rebellion on campuses and the necessity of young socialists to be in the leadership of these struggles:

"The most significant struggles do not take place around 'student power' demands narrowly defined. Broader questions such as the war, black power, basic democratic rights, have been the issues around which the masses of students were mobilized."

"We are interested in explaining the role of the university in capitalist society, and winning students to the idea that it is necessary to abolish capitalism in order to have a truly free university."

As in any revolutionary fight, the key to success is mobilization of the majority of

Goal: American Revolution

By Ed Smith

What are the main differences between the Young Socialist Alliance and other radical youth groups in this country? The fundamental difference, national chairman Charles Bolduc contended in his Organizational Report to the YS Convention, is the orientation of all activities toward the central task of ending U.S. capitalism: "All of the work we do from marching on picket lines to licking stamps is done with this main task in mind."

"This will be no easy job because we are faced with a ruthless—but more important than that—the strongest ruling class in the history of the world. It is this political fact which dictates the organizational principles and norms of the YSA."

The YSA is modeled on the organizational principle of democratic centralism. This concept originated in Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which was the first revolutionary party to overthrow a capitalist regime; it has been modified and adapted to the tasks of revolutionaries in this country by the American Trotskyist movement.

"Democratic centralism," Bolduc explained, "means full democracy in making decisions and unity in carrying them out. . . ."

"This report today follows weeks of discussion in areas all around the country and votes on political perspectives. At the convention itself we have further discussed these perspectives and again voted on them. . . ."

"Between conventions the centralist side of democratic-centralism becomes more prominent as we all work to implement the decisions the majority has made. . . ."

Bolduc contrasted this type of program

* There are YSers at: 101 universities and colleges, 34 high schools and 5 junior high schools.

* Young Socialists organized 169 trailblazes between February and December 1968.

* YSers spoke on 242 college campuses in the fall of 1968.

* 173 young socialists were recruited as a result of the Halstead-Boutelle election campaign.

* 200 new members joined between Oct. 1 and Nov. 28.

* 60 people applied for membership between Nov. 28 and Dec. 1.

and organization with the Students for a Democratic Society: "SDS has no clear political program, and every person in SDS may have a different perspective or different attitude toward this or that phenomenon. . . ."

"Articulate speakers can manipulate the organization and in reality SDS is far less democratic than the YSA . . . Majority rule means nothing because everyone 'does their own thing' anyhow."

Discussing the fact the YSA had doubled its size since the previous convention, Bolduc said that when the YSA was founded, "it was much harder to recruit because the radicalization was just beginning. Recruiting a single person in a period of three weeks to a month was doing well. Now we recruit four or five locals in one month!"

But the hard job of building a core of revolutionaries in the earlier period was what made possible the big expansion in the present period. "We have now built a large core and we are ready for bigger things to come."

Bolduc listed a number of activities the YSA has conducted this year setting the pattern for future expansion. These included:

● The 1968 convention itself. All young socialists interested in joining the revolutionary movement were invited to take part in the preconvention discussion and come to Chicago. Sixty asked to join the YSA during the convention itself.

● Trailblazing was carried out in every major area of the country. YSAers traveled from city to city and campus to campus spreading the revolutionary program and recruiting to the movement.

● Regional letters were developing in a number of areas. These allow the bigger YSA locals in different regions to keep in close contact and coordination with new locals that are springing up. To improve national coordination even more, Bolduc explained that the YSA National Office intended to bring in several more comrades to build up the staff in the center at New York.

● The sales of YSA pamphlets have continued to grow. Bolduc announced the forthcoming publication of Ernest Mandel's lecture at the international student conference organized by the Columbia University SDS. In addition the YSA has published thousands of leaflets, posters and buttons.

Bolduc put particular emphasis on the importance of political education: "We edu-

students: "We want to be able to appeal to and win over masses of students to demands they understand and that they see are within their rights."

"We want to make it perfectly clear that it is the ruling class, the administration, that is denying rights, that is responsible for any violence—not the students."

On both university and high-school campuses, Seigle concluded, the YSA can win thousands of new young recruits to the ranks of revolutionary socialism:

"Our prime task in the next year is to bring as many of these young people into the YSA as possible, and from what we've seen in the period before the convention, what is possible is quite a bit!"



Charles Bolduc

cate ourselves so that we can make a revolution and create a society where there is real education and intellectual freedom." He noted the success of summer schools which have been conducted every year, where comrades can come into regional centers and study revolutionary program and history.

He outlined three major arenas of expansion set for the immediate period:

1) To build the membership of the YSA to 1,000 by this coming summer.

2) To launch a financial drive to raise \$25,000 between Jan. 1 and April 31, 1968.

3) To raise the circulation of the magazine, the *Young Socialist*, to 10,000.

"Our goal is to recruit every one of the hundreds of new radicalizing young people to the YSA."

"We can take a big step forward toward our goal of becoming the mass revolutionary socialist youth group in this country . . . We will tear down this rotten capitalist system!"

Black struggle report covered key issues

By Susan Harris

Should revolutionary youth attempt to build a socialist movement in this country which is multi-national—or should whites, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other oppressed nationalities build separate socialist organizations? What do Young Socialists mean when they call for the building of a mass black political party? How does the development of the Black Panther Party and the upsurge of black high school and college students affect the perspective for building such a party?

These were the central questions raised at the Young Socialist convention in the report and discussion on the black liberation struggle. National executive committee member Derrick Morrison, who gave the report, sought to deal with these issues in the context of new developments in the black liberation struggle since the YSA convention a year ago.

Describing the history of the radicalization of black college students which began in earnest in 1966, Morrison pointed out that this year, for the first time, the struggles of black students have deepened to the point that significant numbers of white students are being won over to the support of nationalist student demands.

But, "it is in the high schools and the junior high schools that the power of black students is most clearly felt," Morrison said. In 17 major cities across the country black youth make up over 50 percent of the public school enrollment. The process of high school radicalization has reached its highest point in Chicago where tens of thousands of black students took part in city-wide high school boycotts demanding black control of the schools.

Morrison pointed out that the struggle for black control of the schools has helped advance the more general demand for black control of the black community. This demand for black control has, in turn, helped bring to the fore the question of how this control can be achieved—"whether through channels like the Democratic Party, or whether black people will have to form their own party."

Morrison explained that when revolutionaries talk about a black political party, the conception is of "a mass party that can wield influence over all aspects of life in the black community."

To put it more simply, he said, "all attempts by oppressed groups to better their conditions in terms of housing, welfare, culture and jobs rests with the question of who controls the political arena . . . to deal with these issues a political party is needed."

As an example, Morrison pointed to the struggle for black control of the schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of New York. It was the Lindsay administration, and the cops under Lindsay's command, which have undermined this struggle, he explained. It is necessary to form an independent black political party which can challenge Lindsay.

Morrison noted that there is now a great deal of sentiment for an independent black party. This sentiment was registered at the Philadelphia Black Power conference and at the conference of the United Brothers of Newark. The most prominent organized expressions of this sentiment, he said, are the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Lowndes County Ala., and the Black Panther Party whose headquarters is in Oakland, Calif.

Describing the Panthers as "the strongest revolutionary nationalist organization on the scene," Morrison reviewed some of the contributions and difficulties faced by the Panthers in their efforts to build a nationwide organization. He pointed to the ten-

point program as an important contribution to the development of a program around which the masses of black people can be organized, but he said that the ability of the Panthers to educate and organize around this program was hampered by those Panthers whose thinking is exclusively "fixed upon the gun."

Morrison assessed the development of black organizations within the trade union movement as the most significant new development of this year. In Detroit, the example of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement has set into motion other black workers.

The need to build the Young Socialist Alliance as a multi-national revolutionary socialist youth group, discussed in Derrick Morrison's report, was elaborated earlier in an article written for the preconvention bulletin by Tony Thomas, a YSA leader from New York.

Thomas argued that a single revolutionary organization is needed to coordinate the struggle for power "on all fronts" against the single, united, capitalist state. He observed that although the description of black America as a colony of U. S. imperialism was a useful one, this viewpoint is "incomplete." This, he said, is because instead of being miles away and totally separated, the mother country and the colony are intertwined, occupying the same territory. The struggles of black workers and white workers can therefore not be seen as two completely separate entities he said. They will take place in the same factories and the same unions.

At the convention, Derrick Morrison elaborated on this idea: "Grasping the totality of the revolutionary process, the black socialist sees the need for the building of a black political party as only part of the solution of the completion of the North American revolution. The racist oppression of black people is only part of the problem of North America—the other part is economic exploitation. And this brings us to the other part of the solution, that is the building of a multi-national organization. Why multi-national? Because capitalist exploitation is multi-national."

Morrison explained that American society is divided into classes as well as oppressor and oppressed nations. Each of the struggles stemming from the basic reality—the class division and the national division—have a great deal of effect on one another.

A multi-national revolutionary socialist organization must be built in this country on the basis of struggle against the capitalist class which is responsible for both this national and class oppression. "We have a lot in common with anyone who wants to build a revolutionary movement in North America," Morrison said. "We have a lot of experience in trying to accomplish that task ourselves. And we invite all revolutionaries to join us in completing that task."



Derrick Morrison



CONVENTION PANEL. Participants in panel on "Self-determination in North America" were (from left to right) Genaro Lara, Paul Boutelle (panel chairman), Omar Aoki, Steve Aubid, Dennis Lambert, Dave Thorstad (translator) and Tony Thomas.

How minorities can lead in changing this society

By Elizabeth Barnes

A panel discussion at the Young Socialist convention on "Self-determination in North America" included participants in struggles in the Mexican-American, Afro-American, Indian and French-Canadian communities. This panel was especially inspiring because it drew attention to the revolutionary potential contained in the combined power of the many national minorities within this country in the struggle against capitalism.

Each speaker clearly delineated the growing desire for cultural and political self-determination which has been a key component of the growing radicalization of oppressed peoples within the U. S. and Canada. Genaro Lara, a Mexican-American student at the University of Illinois who has been organizing support for the California grape strike, discussed the need for a knowledge of the Mexican cultural heritage in the struggle for liberation: "In the schools in New Mexico and Texas, and in different states where Mexicans live, we are taught a different history than our own. We are not taught about Mexican heroes, we are taught to admire people like Davy Crockett and others. Actually Mexican history in the areas where Mexicans live goes back much further than the history of the white settlers. Our national homeland is in the States, we were born in the States, this land belongs to us . . ."

During the question period Tony Rios, a Mexican-American delegate from Los Angeles underlined this point: "The Southwest is the national homeland of the Chicano people in the United States. It is important to recognize that this tremendous segment of the population, 10 million people, are now arising after a hundred years of suppression and exploitation."

Omar Aoki, leader of the mass boycotts of black high school students in Chicago this fall defined the struggle for self-determination as "a reaction to white oppression." Describing the activities of the Afro-American Student Association and other organizations who are housed at the Umoja (Unity) Black Student Center in Chicago, Aoki said, "Our goal is black power, and we believe that black power means control over the institutions in our community, those institutions being political, economic, social, religious, cultural, military as well as educational. We feel that if we can control these institutions that we will be free."

One of the most moving presentations was given by Steve Aubid, an American Indian from the Ojibway Nation in Minnesota. After speaking about the genocidal destruction of the Indian peoples by European settlers, Aubid described what he sees as a continuation of this general approach to the Indians up to today: "One reason why there isn't much organization yet among the Indians, is that many of the youth, the people who would start things, have been drafted. There are 16,000 Indians in Vietnam and there are more Indian GIs in other countries and I don't know how many stationed in various parts of this country. So that the ones that could start this are in the

service. I think they are trying to kill us off. My friends are in Vietnam; there are Ojibway youth in our area that have been killed in Vietnam for something they don't believe in. It is about time the Indians put a stop to this . . . We have started late in organizing against all this, a few centuries late."

As is the case with most of the oppressed nationalities within the United States, the composition of the French-Canadian population, concentrated in the province of Quebec, is mainly working class. Dennis Lambert of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, equivalent of the YSA in Quebec, explained how the national struggle in Quebec against the domination of the English speaking minority has been tied in with a general upsurge of the French-Canadian workers. The French-Canadian working class is showing a willingness to struggle and a solidarity without equal in Canadian history, he said.

The close relationship between the struggle of oppressed nationalities for self-determination and the world-wide struggle for socialism was stressed by a number of speakers. Young Socialist leader Tony Thomas explained that the final battle for self-determination in this world is the destruction of capitalism within the United States. "Even nations that have already overthrown capitalism, like Cuba, like the Peoples Republic of China, in the last analysis can only be secure by the smashing of that danger, that counterrevolutionary danger, that is always poised against them," Thomas said. "That means we must carry out the struggle for socialism and self-determination in the United States."

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The Young Socialist convention -- a camera view



Shannon

Delegates and visitors to the Young Socialist convention arrived in Chicago by a variety of means of transportation, including two chartered buses from New York.



Shannon

The principal convention sessions were held in the auditorium of the Student Union building at the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois.



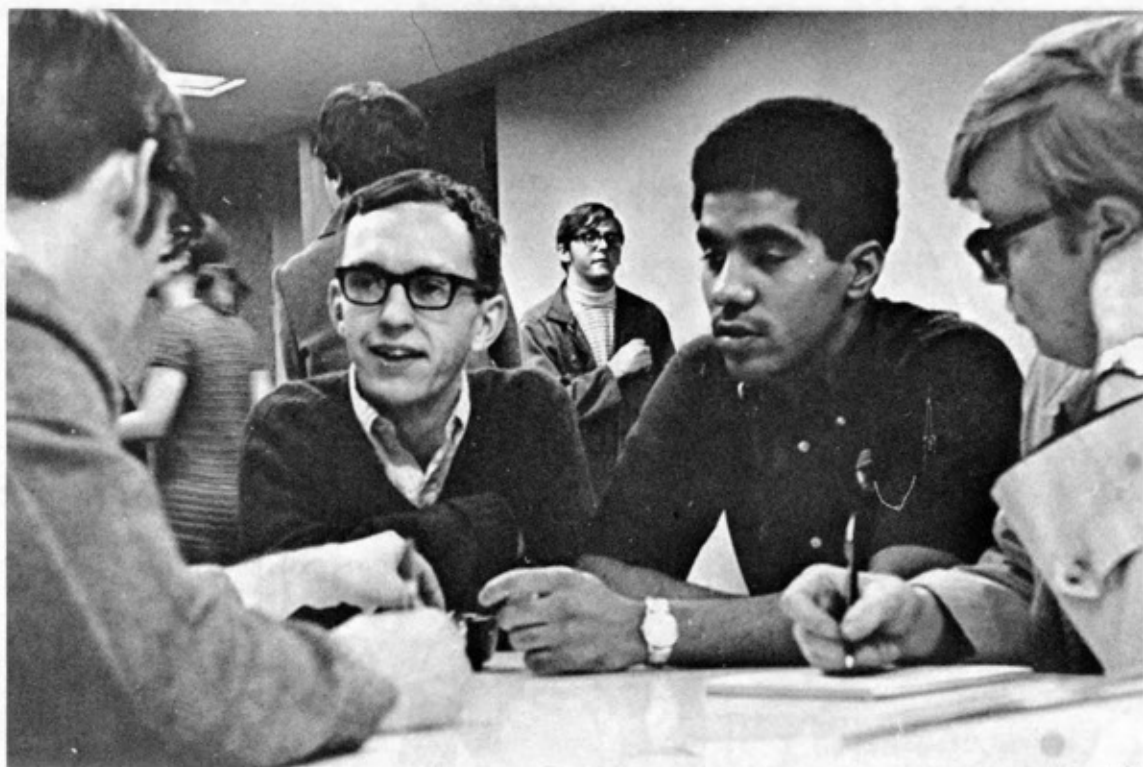
Shannon

Delegates followed the discussion intently, as at the New York table, Susan La Mont and Melissa Singler.



Shannon

Tony Thomas of New York discussed the need for building a black political party to advance the liberation struggle and, at the same time, a multi-national revolutionary Marxist party capable of leading in the abolition of capitalism.



Harry Ring

The media was particularly interested in the GIs attending the convention. Here SP/4 Al Myers (left) and Pvt. Joe Miles are interviewed by Chicago newsmen.



Dave Wulp

Younger Young Socialists helped man the literature sales tables at the convention.



Harry Ring

Chowtime



Dave Wulp

During a break some of the delegates took the opportunity to have a discussion with Fred Halstead, the 1968 Socialist Workers presidential nominee.

"I am not a capitalist soldier, I am a proletarian revolutionist... I am opposed to every war but one. I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the war of the social revolution."
EUGENE V. DEBS, JUNE 16, 1918



Shannon

Dedicated to the tradition of the revolutionary socialism of Eugene Victor Debs, the Young Socialist convention considered these words of his as having a particular relevancy today.



Shannon

Steve Aubid, an Indian American from McGregor, Minn., participated in the panel on the struggle of minorities for self-determination. He described how large numbers of Indians have been drafted for the genocidal war in Vietnam.



Shannon

Many Young Socialists developed an anti-capitalist consciousness as a result of the profound affect on them of the revolutionary thinking of Malcolm X. They considered the quotation from him displayed here as especially appropriate.



Shannon

Tony Camejo, of Berkeley, Calif., a long-time Young Socialist builder is active in the Berkeley teachers union.



Harry Ring

As a result of reactionary protests against the Young Socialists being given campus facilities for their convention, the TV show, "At Random," organized a panel discussion where Paul Boutelle and Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party engaged in an exchange of views with a protesting State Assemblyman and others. The Boutelle-Camejo team proved quite formidable.



Shannon

Joseph Hansen, editor of Intercontinental Press and one-time secretary to Leon Trotsky, brought the convention the fraternal greetings of the Socialist Workers Party.



Shannon

Revolutionary greetings from Canada were brought by Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.



Shannon

Judy White, 1967 New York Socialist Workers gubernatorial nominee, and Peter Camejo, appreciated the humor at the convention.



Shannon

Cleveland YS organizer Roger Rudenstein suggested ways of improving the Young Socialist magazine.



Shannon

Manhattan, N.Y. YS organizer Joanna Misnik telling it like it is.



Harry Ring

Famed Minneapolis labor and revolutionary socialist organizer V. R. Dunne tells Chicago YSer Cheryl Hill about how the movement has evolved and why it has such a bright future.



Shannon

Norman Oliver, recently graduated from Detroit's Cass Tech High and was active in the Afro-Americans for Halstead-Boutelle campaign.



Shannon

Dennis Lambert of the Montreal Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (left) participated in minorities panel where he discussed the national independence struggle of the Quebecois in Canada. David Thorstad of Minneapolis translated from the French.



Shannon

Among the interested visitors was Clifton DeBerry, 1964 Socialist Workers presidential candidate.



Harry Ring

Outgoing YS national chairman Mary-Alice Waters explains the Young Socialist program to an NBC interviewer.



Shannon

Kipp Dawson, of the YS national executive committee, reported plans for the further expansion of the circulation of the Young Socialist.



Shannon

The convention concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

Opposition to war and the developing radicalization

By Robert Langston

The Young Socialist convention proclaimed 1969 the "Year of the Antiwar GI," and the consciousness of the significance of this slogan was evident in all the proceedings. This was, naturally, especially true in the discussion of the draft resolution, "Young Socialists and the Fight Against the Vietnam War."

The report by Carol Lipman, national secretary of the YSA, and the subsequent discussion centered on two closely related matters.

One is the development of antiwar sentiment in previously uninvolved sectors of the population. Most decisive is the developing opposition to the war within the armed services. In addition, significant numbers of militant young high-school students are becoming involved in the antiwar movement.

The other question was that of rebuilding the broad antiwar coalition, which has been somewhat dispersed and disoriented under the dual pressures of the bombing halt and "peace" negotiations, and the election campaign.

Both the increasing student radicalization and the rapid development of antiwar activity among GIs are especially important because these are sectors directly linked to the working class. The majority of GIs and high-school students are from working-class backgrounds and look ahead to working-class lives. The radicalization in these sectors thus represents a significant development in the direction of working-class radicalization.

The emergence of an antiwar movement within the military marks a turning point in the development of the antiwar movement, for this is a section of the population that has the power actually to compel an end to the war.

From the outset, the revolutionary socialists have stressed the crucial importance of reaching servicemen and women. Now, virtually all sections of the movement recognize the importance of establishing links with the GIs. The issues in dispute now are tactical.

The Young Socialist delegates, in their discussion of the question, all began from the recognition that the decision to engage in antiwar activity is a deadly serious affair for a member of the armed forces. While as citizens servicemen are entitled to all constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties, in fact they must contend with an officer bureaucracy that has immense, direct power over their lives; they face a much greater danger than any civilian of victimization, which may range from constant, petty harassment to summary assignment to Vietnam. No soldier with a bit of common sense will respond to any orga-

nization that frivolously urges him or others to commit illegal acts, such as desertion or mutiny, or that is not clearly ready to seriously and consistently mobilize broad public support for dissident GIs' struggles against victimization.

The basis of the Young Socialists' approach to the GIs is support of their rights as citizens. The YSA insists on the right of GIs to express their views, to oppose the war, to participate in demonstrations. It opposes advocacy of desertion or other illegal acts that cannot gain mass support inside or outside the services and only expose those who carry them out to victimization.

While GIs face considerable risks when they become antiwar activists, they can be protected against victimization. This is proved by the success of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in rallying public support and forcing the brass to back down in such cases as those of Pvt. Ed Glover and Pfc. Allen Myers.

The temporary dispersion of the antiwar coalition occurred under the double pressure of the recent election campaign, and the bombing halt and opening of "peace" negotiations in Paris. The more right-wing elements of the coalition—for example, the Communist Party—which generally look to the more liberal sections of the capitalist class to implement progressive policies, disoriented the movement by endorsing the negotiations as a possibly serious effort on the part of the U.S. government to end the war. At the same time, they tended to withdraw their forces from the movement to throw them into electoral work for such capitalist "peace" candidates as Eugene McCarthy and Paul O'Dwyer.

In reality there is no evidence that the U.S. ruling class has decided to get out of Vietnam. The only "peace" it finds acceptable is one which would sanction the continued U.S. imperialist domination of a part of Southeast Asia. Against all negotiations illusions, the antiwar movement must continue to champion the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and the uncompromising defense of the right of national self-determination.

Furthermore, negotiations can mean nothing to a GI whose life is in danger every day in Vietnam while the talk continues indefinitely in Paris. Only the demand to get out immediately can answer to his literally vital interests.

A special problem within the movement are those sectarians, ultralefts, and proponents of acts of individual witness, who seek to substitute small, isolated acts of what they deem to be "confrontation" for the building of a broad antiwar movement capable of carrying through genuine, mass struggles against the warmakers.

At the Student Mobilization Committee conference last June, some conservative elements combined with "radical pacifists" in a headlong retreat from the struggle against the war. They attacked the principle of nonexclusion by seeking to deprive members of political organizations, and particularly Young Socialists, of the right to serve in staff positions. And they attempted to "broaden" the SMC into an amorphous, multi-issue political grouping which would have lost that ability, so clearly manifested in the massive April 26 student strike, to mobilize large numbers of young people around the single issue of militant opposition to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The struggle to preserve the character of the SMC as a militant, non-exclusionist, single-issue united front helped lay the basis for the massive GI-civilian actions expected to occur this spring.

The most pressing immediate task of the Young Socialists, the session agreed, is to build the GI-civilian conference and the SMC conference planned for Chicago, Dec. 29-31. There, it is anticipated, a spring action will be projected that will bring thousands of new forces—and above all, GIs in unprecedented numbers—into militant demonstration against the imperialist war in Vietnam.



ANTIWAR FIGHTERS. Pvt. Tom Hathcock, Pvt. Joe Miles and ex-GI Howard Petrick during Young Socialist panel on GIs and antiwar movement.

How the GIs are building their antiwar movement

By Roger Harrison

A panel of active-duty servicemen, an ex-GI and the secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee discussed the prospects of building an antiwar movement within the armed forces during the Young Socialist convention.

The session was chaired by Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee. Petrick is the ex-GI who was given an "undesirable" discharge for expressing his antiwar, socialist views within the Army.

Matilde Zimmerman of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee discussed the case of Pvt. Ed Glover of Ft. Benning, who has been victimized by the brass. The defense committee has rallied significant support for Glover and, in the main, forced a retreat by the brass in his case.

Glover himself was denied a leave to attend the convention on the pretext that the authorities had to be sure he would be at the post the following Monday morning, when Glover's complaint that his mail had been tampered with was scheduled to be investigated!

Pvt. Don Pyle, who is stationed with Glover at Ft. Benning, pointed to Glover's fortitude in withstanding harassment as exemplary.

SP/4 Allan Myers, who recently defeated a victimization attempt by the brass, said that one of the greatest obstacles to the development of a GI antiwar movement has been the feeling on the part of many GIs that they have no rights. As they are beginning to see that the brass can be coped with, they are beginning to engage in antiwar activities on a larger scale and to band together to defend their rights. Both the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement and the successful Dec. 7 GI teach-in in Philadelphia, which was initiated by Ft. Dix GIs and carried through with the cooperation of various antiwar groups in Philadelphia, are indications of the growth of organization among GIs at Ft. Dix.

Pvt. Joe Cole of Ft. Jackson, S.C., stressed the need for the civilian movement to build a base of support for the GIs. In his experience, the masses of soldiers at his post do not support the war. "The job of the antiwar movement," he said, "is to tell the GIs who is supporting them and who is sending them there [to Vietnam]."

Pvt. Clay Green of Ft. Jackson emphasized the importance of the civilian antiwar movement's achieving unity in its approach to the GIs. He found that a key role for the civilian movement is an educational one and stressed the need for more

basic education on the war in the civilian papers directed towards GIs.

Pvt. Joe Miles of Ft. Bragg, N.C., stressed the growing willingness among GIs to discuss the issues of the war. He noted the pervasive racism of the Army and reported wide acceptance of black-nationalist ideas among Afro-American GIs. In general, he said, the black GIs are on a higher political level than the white soldiers. Miles also noted that the prejudice against the antiwar movement among GIs is breaking down rapidly. In his experience, Vietnam returnees tend to be strongly antiestablishment and antimilitarist.

Miles also reported that Pfc. Walter Kos, a Young Socialist who is stationed with him at Ft. Bragg, was prevented from attending the convention on the pretext that he had handed in his leave request five minutes late.

Pvt. Tom Hathcock of Ft. McClellan, Ala., described the gradual breakdown of the fear GIs have of being caught with antiwar and radical literature. The brass' ability to intimidate the troops is rapidly declining, he reported.

The audience at the panel gave an enthusiastic ovation to the GI participants, whose dignity, courage and intelligence were so impressive. And there was a sense of high expectation at the magnificent perspective. As Joe Cole put it: "If the GIs learn about the war, then the whole thing crumbles."

To Pvt. Glover

The following telegram was sent by the Young Socialist convention to Pvt. Ed Glover at Ft. Benning, Ga.:

"Your comrades and supporters at the YSA national convention pay tribute to your truly heroic endurance in the face of prolonged Army harassment. We regret that you could not be here to receive this tribute in person. We pledge unflinching support for your rights in 1969, the Year of the Antiwar GI. Venceremos."



Carol Lipman

Internationalism: a central theme of the convention

By Julia Martin

In Europe revolutionary youth from different countries have only to travel a relatively few miles to meet each other and participate in genuinely international gatherings. In the United States the opportunity to establish this kind of international contact is much more difficult, but this certainly has not diminished the internationalist enthusiasm of the revolutionary youth of this country.

This was very evident in the opening minutes of the 1968 Young Socialists convention, when Yves Salesse, who was a leader of the banned Revolutionary Communist Youth of France, rose to bring fraternal greetings from the editorial board of *Rouge*, the biweekly, revolutionary socialist newspaper of France. He received a standing ovation of several minutes from the socialist youth, who wanted to express their solidarity with, and their pride in, the accomplishments of their comrades of the JCR.

This was the tone that marked the convention throughout.

In addition to the greetings brought

by Yves Salesse, salutations came from Lothar Boepple, a member of the editorial board of *Was Tun* ("What Is To Be Done") and the general secretary of the German Section of the Fourth International; Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes of Canada; a representative of the Dominican United Front for Liberation; and Mahmud Sayeedzadeh of the Iranian Student Association.

Messages of solidarity were received from Peter Hallstein of the Austrian Trotskyist youth; from Francois Vercammen of the Belgian revolutionary socialist youth, JGS; and from Daniel Camejo for the imprisoned Mexican Trotskyists.

The opening report of the convention was made by Mary-Alice Waters on the draft document, "The New International Youth Radicalization." The report stressed the new rise of revolutionary activity in the colonial world, the workers states and the advanced capitalist countries, and it pointed to the increasing depth of the international radicalization of a whole new

generation as the crucial new element in the world picture.

The report dealt briefly with the May-June events in France; such new development in the neocolonial world as the growth of the Palestinian liberation movement, particularly the revolutionary commando force, Al Fatah; and the struggle of the Czechoslovakian people for socialist democracy. The report served to outline the international setting in which the convention took place.

The international highlight of the convention came with the panel discussion of revolutionary socialist youth leaders from around the world. The central theme of the panel was "After France and Mexico, What Next?" The panelists addressed themselves to the impact of French and Mexican struggles on the revolutionary youth movements of other countries.

Yves Salesse, formerly of the JCR, discussed two of the central lessons of the French May—the role of the student vanguard, and the need for a Leninist party to lead the struggle to a victorious conclusion. He pointed out that a crucial



Photo by Ron Alexander

Yves Salesse

factor in spurring the working class into action was the *example* of the student struggles, struggles which forced the De Gaulle government to back down and meet a number of the student demands.

Salesse reviewed the current argument going on in the French revolutionary movement between the antiorganizational "spontaneist" tendencies and the Leninists. The spontaneists equate organization with bureaucracy, but, he pointed out, bureaucracy is but an expression inside the working-class organizations of the social oppression of the ruling class. The only ultimate solution to bureaucratic deformations will be the abolition of capitalism and privilege on a worldwide scale. To achieve that goal requires a well-organized, democratic, Leninist party capable of leading the working class to a socialist victory. If any doubted it before, he emphasized, the events of May confirm the necessity.

Ricardo de la Luz, a member of the National Strike Council of Mexico, described the course of the struggle by the Mexican students and their program for developing active solidarity between the worker, student and peasant movements. While the Mexican struggle did not have the same depth of social repercussions as the French students' battles, the struggle in Mexico, through the National Strike Council reached a higher organizational level than in France.

Lothar Boepple discussed the important new developments in Germany (see article this page); Jacquie Henderson, editor of the Canadian *Young Socialist Forum*, who had just completed a cross-Canada campus tour, told of rising student radicalism in Canada. She described the occupation of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver by students protesting the arbitrary rejection of junior-college students applying to the universities.

By far the most important student struggles, however, are those taking place in the Quebec schools, and these were described in detail during the special panel discussion on the "Struggle for Self-determination in North America" the following morning.

Ken Hayashi, a Japanese student studying in the United States this year who is a member of the Anti-Imperialist Student Commune in Japan, described how the Japanese student struggles of recent years have radicalized thousands of Japanese youth. The most important events, he felt, had been the demonstrations against the Japan-Korea Friendship Treaty, those against Premier Sato's tour of Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia, and the demonstrations in January of this year protesting the first visit of the atomic submarine, *Enterprise*, to a Japanese port. He described how he had become progressively involved in these demonstrations and discussed the prospects for the widespread protests expected around the negotiations for a renewal of the Japanese-American Security Treaty in 1970.

Even though the hour was late, the questions and discussion were extensive, as the young socialists asked about everything from the role of the French CP during May and June to the prospects for work with American GIs stationed in countries around the world.

The panel ended in the same spirit that marked the rest of the convention, as the panelists led the audience of revolutionary youth in singing their common battle song, the "Internationale."

A report on the German SDS

By Mary-Alice Waters

The German SDS (Socialist Students Federation) is today in a deep crisis. The tendencies toward fragmentation and dissolution are strong, and the exact outcome of the process is at best uncertain. That is the current state of the organization, in the opinion of Lothar Boepple, who has been active in the left wing of the German SDS for several years.

He and other left-wing leaders, such as Rudi Dutschke and Peter Brandt, have been working hard in recent months on a new monthly paper, *Was Tun* ("What Is To Be Done"), in which they are analyzing this development, drawing the necessary lessons from it, and projecting a course of action for German socialist youth.

In his presentation at the Young Socialist convention in Chicago, Boepple pointed out that historically the German working class has been one of the strongest and best organized in the world and that it has also suffered the greatest defeats in world history—the 1933 victory of Hitler and the rise of fascism.

In the period following World War II, the German working class was politically atomized. Then it was relatively pacified by the "economic miracle" of the 1950s and early '60s. Thus, for more than three decades, there was virtually no political struggle in the German working class, and in that phenomenon lies the source of many recent political developments in Germany,

especially in the radical student movement.

In the brief span of two years, between 1966 and 1968, tens of thousands of young people awoke to political consciousness and developed toward socialist internationalism—without a mass revolutionary party to lead them in that direction and without any real socialist understanding. The majority, as in the U.S., had virtually no knowledge of Marxist theory or of German labor history, to say nothing of world labor history. A crisis in perspective and orientation for the young revolutionaries was certainly foreseeable.

Such is the background to the current crisis of SDS. But Boepple stressed the fact that the radical German student movement was not disappearing. Far from it. The sum total of all activities is today greater than ever before, but it is highly fragmented and localized.

Why is this so? Starting with the giant Berlin demonstration against the Shah of Iran in June, 1967, during which one student was killed, the radical student movement grew rapidly, becoming increasingly national in scope and playing the role of an extraparlimentary opposition. The culmination of this phase in the growth of SDS was the 20,000-strong Berlin demonstration against the Vietnam war in February, 1968.

The demonstrations following the assassination attempt against Rudi Dutschke marked a new departure. They occurred

simultaneously across the country, brought thousands of new forces into the student movement, and became direct confrontations with the state authorities. For several days they prevented the free circulation of the Springer newspapers.

Immediately following the anti-Springer demonstration came the struggle against the special emergency laws being proposed by the Bonn government. These laws give the government the right to suspend basic civil liberties in time of "national emergency."

For weeks prior to the 30,000-strong demonstration in Bonn on May 12, student radicals carried out ceaseless activity—distributing millions of leaflets, holding discussions in the streets, going to factories, occupying universities. Yet the emergency laws were enacted without any real working-class struggle. And all this was taking place at precisely the same time that 10 million workers were on strike in France.

Many of the student radicals felt frustrated and demoralized. Illusions about mobilizing the working class by dint of their sheer pace of activity crumbled. But another process was also taking place, a process of internal reorganization. Given the absence of any other large revolutionary movement, the SDS attracted many non-students to its ranks. Workers, high-school students and others came to SDS business meetings to help make decisions and, ironically, this political support from other layers of the population helped bring on the crisis in SDS.

SDS had no common political program on which to organize and educate its new supporters, and it lacked real communication and coordination on a national scale. Thus, the tendencies toward fragmentation became stronger.

Secondly, many of those who had gone through the emergency-laws struggle and experienced the refusal of the trade-union bureaucracies to fight, drew the conclusion that all organizations tend to become conservative and bureaucratic, and consequently all organization is bad.

The result of these two developments has been the current crisis of SDS—the strong tendency toward fragmentation and dissolution, but also the search for answers.

While the outcome of the current developments in the SDS may be uncertain, they have given many students a clearer conception of the need for a working-class base and program. The old theories of Marcuse and others just don't seem to offer the right answers anymore, and the search for revolutionary Marxist answers is deepening.

Was Tun hopes to be able to provide some of these answers, and the initial response of growing numbers of readers and supporters, especially in the SDS circles, indicates that it may succeed.



Photo by Ron Alexander

Lothar Boepple (at podium) and Minneapolis Young Socialist Derrel Myers.

Book review

In the fist
of the
revolution



CUBA'S CURRENCY. Unloading sugar cane at Cuban refinery. Cuba is compelled to mobilize its labor force for sugar production, its principal export crop.

IN THE FIST OF THE REVOLUTION— Life in a Cuban Country Town by Jose Yglesias. Pantheon Books, 1968. 307 pp. \$5.95.

Would you like to know what it is like to live in a small town in Cuba in the eighth year of the Revolution?

Then you have treat in store for you. Jose Yglesias is an American, born and brought up in Tampa, Florida. He has the great advantage of having learned to speak Spanish fluently (from his Cuban grandparents). Living for several months in a motel in Mayari, in Northern Oriente province, Yglesias talks to everyone, and almost everyone talks to him, even those few who are secretly planning to leave Cuba.

London Letter

A continuing repercussion

LONDON — October 27th's massive demonstration against the imperialist war in Vietnam, which brought over 100,000 marchers and many times this number of spectators out into the streets of this capital was part of a rising tide of struggle and has proved to have had a significant effect on all forms of a struggle to bring an end to white capitalist domination. The great event of that autumn day has been a veritable watershed for the flowering of democracy, and, above all, for democratic, revolutionary mass action.

One has only to enumerate at random some of the outstanding happenings of recent weeks to grasp the full impact.

A day or two following the demonstration, a bill was officially sponsored by the Labour government to reduce the voting age to 18. This bill has now passed its first reading in parliament.

Similarly a bill has been introduced to abolish the hereditary right of the aristocracy to vote in the House of Lords. Only government-appointed peers, whose titles are not inherited by their progeny ("life peers"), are to have voting rights. The proportions of peers are to follow roughly the party lines in the elected House of Commons, with the addition of a group of "cross-benchers" (independents) who are not to be subject to party discipline.



Enoch Powell

The author conveys the extraordinary changes that have come about in the Cuban people since the Revolution. As a 67-year-old man puts it, "Cubans have never liked to work because we have always seen that to get ahead or to gain this or that you do not work, you do it through friends, never through sustained study or work, but always by the proper cultivation of friendships and politicking . . ." But now, "Cubans who do not like to work go off in droves to cut cane for nothing, fifty percent real volunteers full of enthusiasm and fifty percent—well, they go, carried along by the others and catching some of their enthusiasm for the while . . ."

People tell him that, before the Revolution, they were just as horrified of "com-

This government bill has all-party support—that is, the Tory leadership's assent and probably the small Liberal Party's. Groups of parliamentarians are opposed to it within each party—from the right in the Tory, from the left in the Liberal and Labour. Left-wing Labourites demand complete abolition of the undemocratic upper house.

The government has announced a whole series of radical reform measures, too numerous to give in detail here.

Truck drivers have successfully taken industrial (strike or support of strike) action to reject the installation of electronic meters ("spy boxes") in their cabs.

Building-trades workers (about 1.5 million) have successfully refused to countenance bargaining interference by the First Secretary of State and Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity. The intervention was intended to whittle down a raise obtained by union negotiators in hard bargaining.

The minister in question, Mrs. Barbara Castle, is known for her actions in enforcing the discredited prices-and-incomes (wage freeze and squeeze) policy. Hence, and because of her deft efforts to balance her reputation as a former left-wing Labourite, her nickname among British workers is "Barbarella."

Homeless families in London occupied vacant luxury apartments and luxuriously appointed office buildings (the builders are holding out for maximized rent profits) in demonstrations in London Dec. 1.

Organizations of colored people (Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, Sikhs) are mushrooming all over the British Isles and fighting for black power.

Enoch Powell, candidate for antiblack British Hitler and recent candidate for leadership of the Tory Party—only a few months ago widely heralded as the white people's champion—is now disowned by his own leadership, refused church buildings for his meetings, laughed out of court by previously tremulous Labour right-wingers and booed off the platform at meetings he does address.

The masses of Ulster are rising to overturn the police state in Northern Ireland and bring about the unification of the Emerald Isle.

— Tom O'Flaherty

munism" as their U.S. counterparts. They tell why they changed. They tell how much safer life has become for both men and women than it was when Batista's soldiers and the police had power to grab a citizen and kill him if they felt like it. Now, even the drunks are protected against being beaten and imprisoned.

Yglesias sees the absence of racial discrimination. Many of the most responsible positions in Cuba are held by blacks. It wasn't that way before. A young black girl, who is the union delegate from the motel workers, tells Yglesias how before the Revolution, her teacher intervened in a schoolgirls' quarrel and said to her, "I shit on you and all the degenerate race of Negroes. . . ." Her mother told her that the park used to have a roped-off section when they had a fiesta where the blacks had to dance.

Yglesias describes the courts as working towards real community participation. A judge quietly explains why the guilty parties are hurting the Revolution when they sell on the black market, fight each other, run lotteries, etc. But most of the cases have to do with food, which is strictly rationed.

Each person in Mayari is allowed: rice, 4 pounds a month; lard or oil, 1 pound every 21 days; beans, 3/4 pound per month; butter, 2 ounces a month; coffee, 1-1/2 ounces weekly; soap, 1 bar a week each for bathing and washing; milk, 1 bottle fresh a month, a varying number of cans for children up to the age of 13, and 4 cans for adults over 65; tomato puree, 1/2 can a month; salt, 1/2 pound a month; onions, 1 pound a month; 1 chicken per month per family; and 1/4 pound meat per week. Anything not on this list, such as bread and fish, is not rationed and available in varying quantities.

Yglesias asked Mrs. Poyato, 56-year-old mother of 11 who does heavy work in the sugar mill and hopes she has another 20 years to work for the Revolution, what she thought about rationing.

"I do not know if it is bad—I tell you frankly—because I always had it bad. How can I tell you I do not have ham when I never had ham?" And the pharmacist, who lived well before the Revolution, said "We live much better [now] . . . Yes, at ten in the morning in the old days you could still find steaks at the butcher's . . . They used to rot there."

"Listen, in this life you have to be human. What was the use of eating well when around you hundreds were starving?"

The middle-class pharmacist has old friends who have left for the U.S. He told the author that he asked them if they were being thrown out of their jobs. "No, they say. Then what do you object to? I do not like it, that is all." A light-skinned Negro woman said, "What they really do not like is social equality." Also, Yglesias says they do not like the hard work and devotedness of the Cuban leaders and Party members—they just haven't got the juice for it.

Yglesias reports many candid conversations with Cubans about personal matters including sex. One young Hungarian wife, whose husband, Mella, is not a Party member, tells him that the position of Cuban women is terrible. The men, she says, are unfaithful but expect their wives to overlook it, while remaining faithful themselves.

When the author asks Mella why he is not in the Party, he says that he should not be because he is full of vices. "I like to sleep with women other than my wife—and I believe that a Communist should be Immaculate!" Mella feels that he has been formed before the Revolution, but that with the new educational institutions and the increasing economic independence of women, things will change.

Yglesias had a certain reluctance to visit the block committees, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. He was afraid they pried too much into the affairs of their neighbors. But he became very enthusiastic about them. He describes how they look after health, education, housing, and help maintain security against infiltration from the U.S. and against the ever-present danger of invasion.

Yglesias is impressed by the hard-working, self-sacrificing Party members. Do they like their specific jobs to which they are assigned? He asks Soni, the young Regional Party Secretary, what would induce him to change his job. Soni replies:

"Remember, I told you one must not fall in love with one's job? I do not know what I would leave it for. It is not a personal decision. I would discuss it with the Party and the companeros."

Constance Weissman

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One of the impressive features of the Young Socialists, evident at their Thanksgiving weekend national convention, is the mobility of the organization.

In doubling its size during the past year, the YSA leaned heavily on trail-blazing travelers. Visiting new campuses and areas, these travelers helped to establish a dozen new YSA chapters and win countless new supporters for the movement.

All of them functioned on minimum financial subsistence, as necessitated by the always limited financial resources of a revolutionary movement.

In carrying out this activity, these Young Socialists were following in one of the fine traditions of the revolutionary movement. Their predecessors, however, did it on an even more stringent material basis.

To suggest something of the life of the early "footloose" young revolutionary—in the first two decades of the century—we are publishing here excerpts from a speech by James P. Cannon.

Cannon was a young builder of the Industrial Workers of the World, a founder of the American Communist Party and the initiator of the American Trotskyist movement.

Presently national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, he has over the years, as even a brief biographical note indicates, played a key role in the development of the revolutionary Marxist movement, here and internationally.

The remarks published here are excerpted from a speech which he made at a Dec. 15, 1962, banquet in Los Angeles celebrating publication of his book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*.

Sharing the dais with him was Rose Karsner, also a lifelong revolutionary, who was his companion and collaborator for many years. In a future issue we plan to make her speech of that evening available.

* * *

If I ever write my autobiography—and this is a threat, not a promise—I wouldn't write it in the ordinary way—dates and events and so on. I would write it in a personal way about things that I recall that were interesting; mainly about people and my relations with them.

One chapter I've thought about would be entitled "Did You Eat Yet?" The reason for that unusual title would be my experiences as a professional soapboxer for the IWW.

I was one of many young men who traveled from one city to another wherever the organization needed a hand. We used to speak

"Did you eat yet?"

By James P. Cannon

every night of the week—Minneapolis, Kansas City, Omaha, Chicago, Cleveland, Akron, etc. You see, we were already then professional revolutionists—in the bolshevik sense—although we never heard that term. We preached the gospel and we lived by the gospel.

We had a regular procedure at the street meetings where crowds of migratory workers would gather—you'd make your speech and your supporters would sell literature. And if we took a collection—which we did at every meeting—it was not an ordinary collection for some cause or other; the pitch was "there's a lot of people here out of work who can't afford to buy the *Industrial Worker* and *Solidarity*, so if you'll give a quarter, we'll give away five copies to some fellow workers here that want to read it and haven't got any money in their pockets."

And we'd take up a collection from a quarter up to a dollar. Whatever the total collection was, for every nickel, a copy of the paper would be distributed free to the unemployed workers listening.

The soapboxer would get 40 percent commission on the sale of literature. That's what we were supposed to live on. It wasn't much, but it would keep you alive. What more do you want?

In addition to that, at every IWW hall I went into, there were always a couple of what we called "live ones," fellow workers who had been out on a job for a couple of months and came into town with a stake. And they were very fond of the soapboxers and very appreciative of them. We were the articulate ones who got up and expounded their ideas in a way that they were not technically qualified to do.

They'd come in and they'd hunt up the soapboxer. I remember many a one of them would come up to me and say, "Hello, Jim, did you eat yet?"

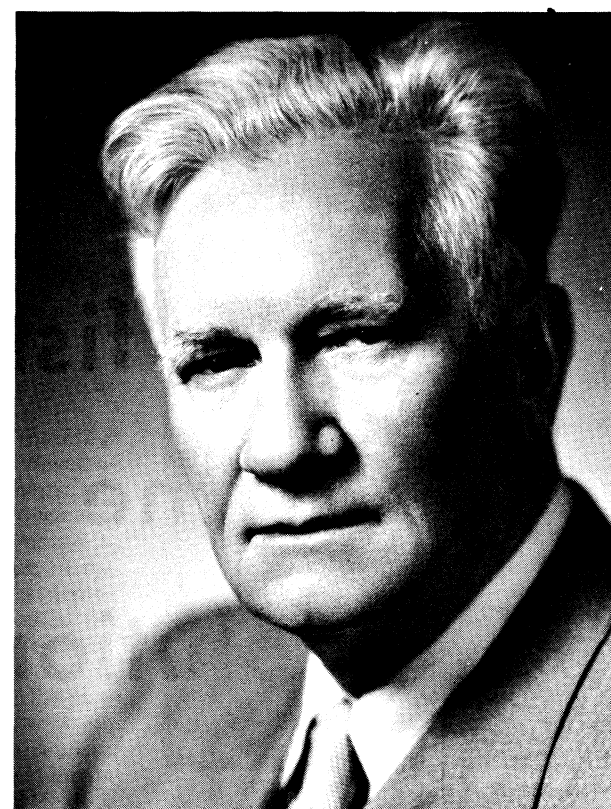
I'd say, "No." "Come on." And out we'd go to a saloon where they served lunch. We'd eat lunch, drink a couple of beers, and maybe he'd slip me a dollar or something "in case you run short." In that way the IWW maintained a staff of professional soapboxers, of which I'm proud to say I was one.

How does a professional revolutionist keep it up, year after year, when you know to start with, and you know still better at the finish, there's no money in it? It's not a paying business. The best you can hope for is to keep alive. And sometimes even that becomes a problem. . . .

It was hard for a lot of people to believe that one can work for a cause regardless of the profit in it. And the most skeptical of all were people that I was associated with very closely at different times in my life, namely the criminals, in jail and prison.

In my 60 days in county jail in Kansas City—that was away back yonder 43 years ago—prisoners awaiting trial were kept in separate floors or "tiers," as they called them, according to the seriousness of their crime. Sneak thieves on the first floor, burglars on the second, bank robbers, murderers and communists on the top floor. That's the way it was.

So I was among them and I was accepted right away as a big shot because I was under \$15,000 bail. They used to say, "My God, all



we did was rob a bank, you're trying to overthrow the whole damn government!" And they said it with admiration.

One of them said to me one day, "Jim,"—we were on a first-name basis in no time—"Jim, you must be gettin' a pretty big cut out of this, aren't you?" I said, "No, all I get is \$30 a week when I'm working for the party."

"Now, don't kid me!"

Finally I convinced him that I wasn't getting anything out of it. Then he said, "Well, there's some big guy up in Chicago or New York who's gettin' the money. You can't kid me. Somebody's gettin' the money and you ought to cut yourself in on it." That was the way it went. . . .

Things are a little better now, but not so much, relatively. Our comrades in the center who carry the weight and burden of this organization from day to day live on wages far less than the ordinary worker out in the branches—far less.

We have a very complicated system of two for one and one for nothing. Two for one means if a couple both work for the party, you get two for the wages of one. Then, one for nothing is the young couples where the man works at a regular occupation and his wife gives full time free to the party.

Or, vice versa, the woman works and the man gives full time free to the party. That's what we call the one for nothing deal. Then we have some comrades who have a little income and who work for nothing. And between them altogether they keep the party going. They keep it rolling. . . .

I'd like to end my speech tonight—not a speech, but just off-the-cuff remarks—with an appreciation of those who have succeeded us and who are doing so well.

When Trotsky was on the run from the fascists in France and unable to participate in public activities, he took it out in writing surreptitiously, and he wrote a diary, his *Diary in Exile*. That was in 1935. I hope most of you have read it.

Trotsky was already 55 years old and he wrote there, "I must live five more years to prepare the succession." Five more years of preparing people to carry the movement after he would be no more. And it just turned out mathematically that that was the time allotted him. Five years later he was assassinated.

But in those five years of fruitful work he had prepared the rest of us to carry on in some fashion or other. And we have always considered this our function—we old-timers. Our real task as leaders is to prepare our successors.

And if we can look with equanimity on the prospect that Rose gave us, gave here tonight—that we can retire from active leadership in the movement—we can do it with confidence because we know the successors are qualified people. And we are only, as she said, we are only going to give advice in the future if it's asked—but don't take that too seriously.

The writings of James P. Cannon

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Report on the last suppers

By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

Two noteworthy achievements are to be registered as the next-to-the-last scoreboard in the 40th Anniversary Fund is posted.

Ten of the fifteen areas from the East to the West Coast have fulfilled their quotas or surpassed them. These include such large centers as Boston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia and Detroit. Five others have a week to go in reaching that mark.

At the same time six memberships have been taken in the Lifetime Militants Club (initiation fee, \$1,000). Since every such donation is matched by an equal amount from one generous supporter of *The Militant*, this insures the attainment of the \$12,000 goal set for that category.

* * *

The banquets organized by friends of the paper in such places as Los Angeles, Boston, the Bay Area, the Twin Cities, Detroit and Philadelphia have served both to spotlight the record of *The Militant* and spur the pace of collections for the fund. The one held in New York Dec. 14 met the standard of enthusiasm set by its predecessors elsewhere.

On the program were Joanna Misnick, speaking for the New York Young Socialists, three antiwar GIs: Walter Kos, Allen Myers and Keith Jones, and a film of SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead addressing an audience of 30,000 at the San Francisco antiwar march and rally last April.

Five former editors of *The Militant* who were present at the head table—Joseph Hansen, George Breitman, Farrell Dobbs, George Novack and Tom Kerry—were introduced. Equally honored were the two top contestants in the current *Militant* subscription campaign in New York, Ed B. and Paul Deveze who are tied at the 27 mark. Go, men go!

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, recounted some of the outstanding achievements of the paper since it was launched in 1928. Greetings were sent to its prime initiators, James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne.

After the present editor, Harry Ring, outlined projected steps for strengthening the staff of the paper and increasing its size as soon as feasible, the audience of more than 125 responded by giving \$1,145 to the fund. This enabled New York to meet its large quota of \$7,200.

In addition, James Morgan took the occasion to join the Lifetime Militants Club, making the third member from New York. Now the U.S. socialists, and not only the capitalists, have at least one Morgan to help sustain them—"from each according to his ability.

* * *

Next week's scoreboard will wind up the campaign. Will the \$40,000 goal be exceeded, and by how much?

Note to those fortunate readers who are getting a Christmas bonus: Why not share it with *The Militant*? This is *positively* your last chance to fill out the 1928-1968 coupon below.



Photo by Ethel Bloch

TESTIMONIAL. Speaking at the New York Militant birthday dinner, SP/4 Allen Myers described the major contribution of the paper in developing antiwar and political consciousness among GIs. Seated is Joanna Misnik, Manhattan Young Socialist organizer.

George Novack, Chairman,
Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

I want to help expand and improve *The Militant*.
Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

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Fund Scoreboard			
Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Portland	\$ 150	\$ 190	126
Boston	1,200	1,370	114
Allentown	150	155	103
Los Angeles	4,400	4,508	102
San Diego	300	303	101
New York	7,200	7,200	100
San Francisco	2,300	2,300	100
Philadelphia	1,300	1,300	100
Detroit	2,000	2,000	100
Seattle	300	300	100
St. Louis	100	97	97
Twin Cities	2,200	1,870	85
Chicago	1,950	1,375	71
Oakland-Berkeley	2,000	1,318	65
Cleveland	1,800	900	50
Other Areas	650	1,245	191
	\$28,000	\$26,431	94
Lifetime Militants	\$12,000	\$12,000	100
Totals	\$40,000	\$38,431	96

The Great Society

WE CAN'T BE EVERYWHERE— A San Francisco reader complains that she can't rely on *The Militant* for the real news from New York and, in testimony encloses an item from the bourgeois press which went unreported in our columns, to wit: "Charlotte Ford Niarchos appeared at the Police Athletic League benefit . . . with Michael Santangelo, and her friends thought she had gone back a year or two in time. Charlotte and Mike were a pretty steady thing at one time. Then they broke it up. Now it seems they may be back where they started . . ."

A FULL TIMER—We were properly impressed by the class-duty outlook of David Kennedy which led him to give up his regular job to work full time for the government. It means going from a \$4,675-a-week-bank chairman's job to \$700 a week as Secretary of the Treasury. However, we understand the federal auditing isn't as tight.

A HOUSE IS A HOME—Lessons in English for real estate sharks were reported by the *Atlanta Constitution* from a speech by a real estate expert, namely: Call houses "homes," call commissions "brokerage fees," call a deal an "opportunity," call the cost "an investment," call a lot "a home site," call a contract "an agreement," and answer questions with questions, not statements.

OUR TASTEFUL TASTE-SETTERS—The Television Code Review Board of the National Association of Broadcasters has reaffirmed its ban on ads for egg-nogs containing hard liquor and partly clothed actresses modeling undergarments. It lifted its ban on hemorrhoid remedies.

BUSY BIG BROTHER—In an editorial entitled, "Computer Nightmare," the *Bay State Business World* advises that even though Congress shelved a proposal to create a Federal Data Center, "the monster data bank is virtually upon us." On all government levels, it advises, "information about individuals is being collected and filed. . . . Municipalities and states collect

data on . . . taxpayers and nontaxpayers, welfare recipients and contractors. . . . In the private sector, more data is being gathered . . . by collection agencies, insurance companies, hospitals. . . . The data will soon be cross-pollinated for various reasons. A comprehensive picture of you will soon be available to many whether you wish it or not."

SOUNDS REASONABLE—"If a woman is going to spend \$1,500 to \$2,000 for a dress, why shouldn't she spend \$750 for a doghouse," enquires Earline Deiries, who is offering doghouses at that price at her New York decorative furniture shop.

THE SIMPLE TOUCH —One of the features of the *Daily World*, like its predecessor, *The Worker*, which always has fascinated us, is its regard for the intelligence of its readers. For example, the following letter to the editor (Dec. 13): "I would like to thank my fellow subway traveler who left a *Daily World* in the subway and thereby introduced me to a real lively paper. The short items, columns, cultural coverage, antiwar news, etc., are very good. I wish you success. I am happy to show the paper to friends and shop-mates. H. M., New York." In the old days it would have been signed, "An Honest Worker."

AS-IS—Sakowitz, a Houston shop, is remaindering a \$125,000 dress. The reason it hasn't sold is not the price but because it's designed for a woman 5'10" tall. It seems to us that anyone who can consider buying it could also afford to have their legs stretched to fit.

WE SENSED IT—Last week we were going to report that WOR-TV in New York carried what critics said was a very fine program on how to quit smoking. But ever distrustful of the capitalist media, we held our silence. Sure enough, the next day another station moved in with a windy discourse on the alleged perils of alcohol.

— Harry Ring

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 4 month introductory subscription.
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The shutdown at S.F. State

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 19—Friday, Dec. 13, began like many recent days at S.F. State. The Tactical Squad attacked student picket lines scattering and arresting students.

It was a tense day on campus. The trustees had rejected meeting with the American Federation of Teachers, AFT local 1352, and the teachers had set 2:00 p.m. as a strike deadline. Although the teachers had been slow in organizing their strike, once they joined us they would bring the tremendous force of a union strike in a union town.

The AFT scheduled a rally for noon, the first legal rally since President Hayakawa had declared a state of emergency on campus two weeks previously. Just as students gathered for the rally a voice came over the administration's loudspeaker,

saying, "This is your acting president." The more than 3,000 students scattered throughout the quad began booing.

Hayakawa announced that he had revised the calendar for the year and the "Christmas vacation" would begin a week early. His reason was that the San Francisco public schools, including the junior college, closed on the 13th and he was afraid that these students might come out to State the following week. His decision represented a victory for the student strikers and their faculty supporters who were demanding the school be shut down.

Hayakawa ended by wishing us all a Merry Christmas. The campus indignantly shouted back a slogan which has gained popularity since Hayakawa announced that anyone using obscenities would be arrested.

Everyone knew that the main reason the campus was shut down was to try to hold off the faculty strike. But, secondarily, the prospect of high school and junior college students flooding the campus concretely illustrates the sense of solidarity other campuses feel toward the strike.

For the fourth time in six weeks the power of the students and faculty forced the official closure of the campus. The rally, which became a victory rally, reaffirmed the decision to strike.

Then there was a victory march around the school. The cops stood back; the line of march stretched into a circle; one couldn't find a beginning or an end to it.

We left the campus, many to go home for vacation; several carloads to trailblaze along the west coast seeking support from campuses still in session; the AFT to campaign for strike endorsements from local unions.

AFT is now the largest, most powerful faculty organization on campus, and during the last week of school they signed up new members right on the picket line. Over the weekend a teaching assistants' AFT sprung into being with over 50 members.

AFT locals at San Jose State and Los Angeles State have already voted to go out on solidarity strikes come Jan. 6. They are now threatened with further AFT strikes at at least two other state college campuses.

Tijerina wins acquittal

By Della Rossa

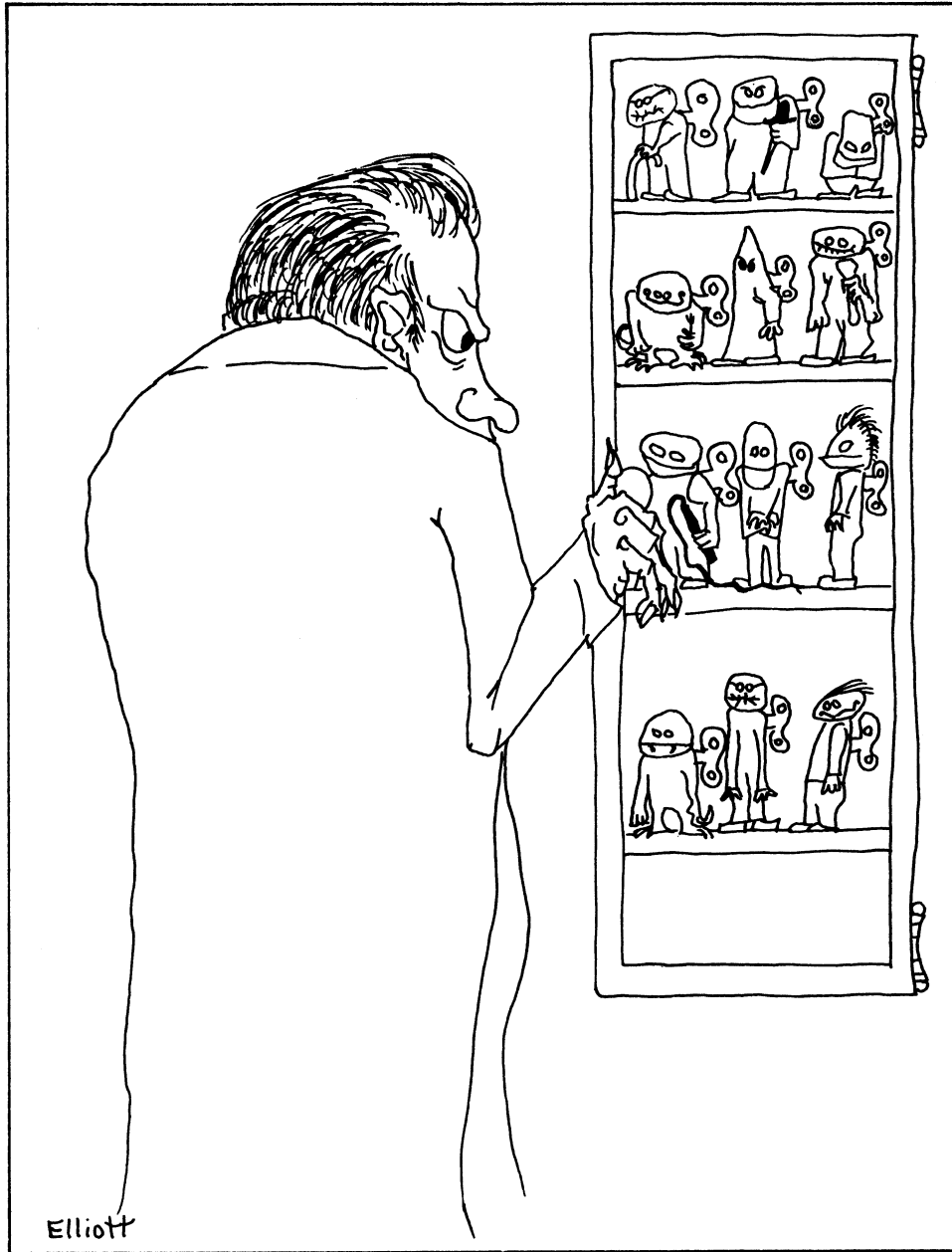
Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Spanish-American land grant movement in New Mexico, was found "not guilty" Dec. 13 of charges involving the Tierra Amarilla, N.M., courthouse "raid" of June 5, 1967.

Some 40 men and women, most of them armed, had gone to the Rio Arriba County courthouse in order to make a citizen's arrest of District Attorney Alfonso Sanchez. There was an exchange of gunfire and three men were wounded. Tijerina had been charged with the kidnapping and false imprisonment of Dan Rivera, a law enforcement officer, and assault on a jail.

Tijerina conducted most of his own defense, using his court appointed lawyers as advisers. He wound up the case with a powerful plea to the jury composed of seven Spanish-Americans, one Afro-American, and four Anglos. He labeled the prosecution witnesses "liars, fraudulents, and cowards."

Tijerina's court victory is an important one for the entire Chicano movement, reflecting its growing strength. It also gives the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libre (Federal Alliance of Free City States), which Tijerina heads, a respite from the severe persecution it has been under since its formation in 1963. But Tijerina still has an appeal pending in another court case. He was earlier sentenced to two years for an incident in which supporters of the Alianza staged a mock trial of two forest rangers who trespassed on their land grant territory.

Nixon's new cabinet--the same old dose



Now that Richard Nixon has appointed or retained most of the men who will make up the incoming Republican administration, there has been an audible sigh of relief in the liberal community. It wasn't as bad as they led themselves to believe.

The new cabinet, observed *The New York Times*, is "made up basically of bankers, corporation lawyers and millionaire businessmen"—like we might add, every other capitalist cabinet.

So it goes. Every four years the two (and sometimes three) ring circus of capitalist electoral politics puts on a big show to convince the voters they have a choice. But when the elected officials take office it comes down to the same thing: "Business as usual."

Nixon is retaining the top officials of three key executive agencies: J. Edgar Hoover in the FBI; Richard Helms in the CIA; and William McChesney Martin in the Federal Reserve Board.

For the 12 cabinet posts, Nixon appointed one politician, two bankers, two university administrators, three corporate lawyers and four businessmen.

It is true that none of them appear to have quite the same connections with the most powerful sectors of big capital that recent Democratic cabinets have had. Defense Secretary McNamara was head of Ford and Defense Secretary Clifford, chief corporation lawyer for the DuPonts.

By contrast, incoming war secretary Melvin Laird has worked his way up in Republican politics and has been critical at times of the Pentagon's budgetary policies. But people in the know don't make too much of this.

The Dec. 10 *Wall Street Journal* quotes one "expert" as saying, "[Laird] will be in the same bind as every other Defense Secretary when it comes to choosing between service demands and budget realities."

Incoming Secretary of State William P. Rogers doesn't have the same experience in international capitalist interests that Dean Rusk gained through the Rockefeller Foundation. In fact, according to *Business Week*, he has "astonishingly little foreign policy background."

But, continues the financial weekly, "His tasks, at least at the outset, are likely to lean more heavily toward administrative

reorganization of the department than toward foreign policy making."

For Secretary of the Treasury, Nixon followed the long-standing tradition of bringing in a powerful banker. David Kennedy is chairman of Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co. of Chicago, largest bank in Chicago and eighth largest in the country.

As a rule, the new labor department chief George Shultz has the blessings of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. This was typified by international Association of Machinists President Siemiller's description of Shultz as "a fair and honest man"—just after Shultz had come out in opposition to strikes by public employees.

All in all, like the long lists of top administration officials before it, this one is not very impressive. Professional snoopers, bankers, lawyers and businessmen are what it takes to keep the capitalist government functioning—after a fashion. Nixon's administration will be no exception to this law of class rule.

GI-Civilian parley

The National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference will be held at the YMCA Hotel in Chicago, Dec. 28.

It will be hosted by the Chicago Peace Council, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, phone (312)-243-0022 and the Chicago GI Weeks and Student Mobilization Committees, 9 S. Clinton, Chicago, phone (312)-641-0280.

The weekend of activities against the war will also include a GI Teach-In, Friday evening, Dec. 27, at 8 p.m. and a conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, Sunday, Dec. 29, at 3 p.m., which will be held at the YMCA Hotel, at 826 S. Wabash in downtown Chicago.

Further information on the weekend activities can also be obtained from the New York Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, phone (212)-673-1883.

Most Americans say: Get out!

Most Americans favor getting out of Vietnam according to a Dec. 17 Gallup Poll (see editorial, page two). Pollsters asked the question:

"Some people say that the U.S. should continue to send military supplies to South Vietnam but that we should let them take over the fighting and make all the decisions about peace and dealing with the Vietcong. Do you agree or disagree?"

The results were 46 percent in agreement; 44 percent opposed; and 10 percent with no opinion.

The same poll found that 64 percent of those interviewed felt that the Paris talks were making no headway.

The Paris follies of the "tinhorn dictator" Ky will only serve to maximize the growing opposition and anger of the American people.